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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

VOLUME 81

1939

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
PHILADELPHIA
1939

[title page]

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THE CHRISTIAN TODAS*

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling[1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[2] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime. The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[1] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[2] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ŋ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ṛ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ǰ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯi] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i].

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroin] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [kɐ̃ɹ], by the Kotas as [kɐ̃ʟ]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanʃusodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [kɐ̃ɹ] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

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term [keL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas.

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[1] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

[1] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543–569.

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797 533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfuisodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 797 [614] [533] I have shown elsewhere [9] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When 553 797 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no [113]

[9] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 205–223.

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Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfɯsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaːsmonguuːr] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːl] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɻjiːʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyɻjiːʒfuːf] (the first member [tyɻj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaroːn] has a son called [asojxuurrn] from [asojur], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuuːr] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuuːr] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuuːr] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iːʒxuuːr] (21, Idrshkwȯdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iːʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 26, for the element [pum].

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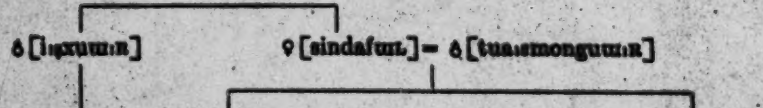
of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and attempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iːŋxuuːᴎ] (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuːᴎ]. His sister [sindafuːᴌ] (Sindavul) married [tuaːsmonguuːᴎ] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuːf]. [iːŋxuuːᴎ] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [naso:n] (son of [teːpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [naso:n] and [sindafuːᴌ] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [naso:n] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iːŋxuuːᴎ], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be married to [pumxuuːᴎ]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuːᴎ], who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father consequently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tõumuŋkuᴌɴ]. [iːŋxuuːᴎ] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuːᴎ] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tõumuŋkuᴌɴ] and [sotjabuːf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peːθoᴌ] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iːŋxuuːᴎ]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaːsmonguuːᴎ] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iːŋxuuːᴎ]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.



[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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794 184 563 177 [869] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

564 648 186 [574] [184] [194]

[113] [15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 110, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

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The European may enter the
house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfuṣodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuiN], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social structure. [alc] (3, Ults), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuːr] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuːs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfuːsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeːn] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuːs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paːuiːʒfiːj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfuːsodj]. Her brother [noːnmurj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfuːsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuːs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noːnmurj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfuːsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoːn] (20, son of [teːpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfuːsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noːnmurj] should pay to [kanfuːsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first marriage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes, and five rupees; these are the [kökuuːlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [arpum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kiš̈ker] gave one buffalo to [keːnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keːnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoːn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiːfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kiš̈ker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kiš̈ker]'s father's sister [tuarfuneːmj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjonaːf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kiš̈ker] by the latter and [kiš̈ker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaroːn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

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its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people" [18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 106.